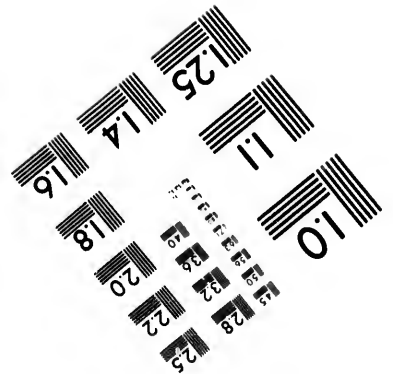
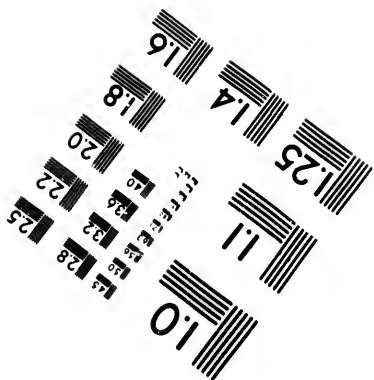
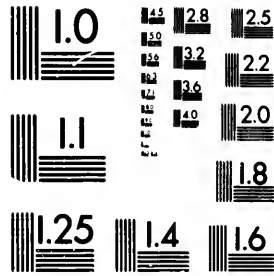


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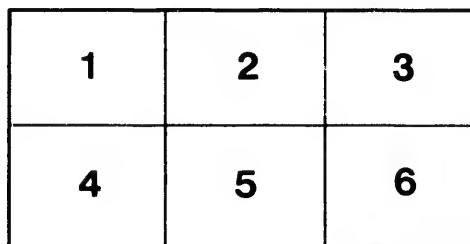
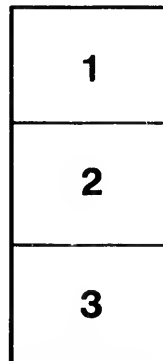
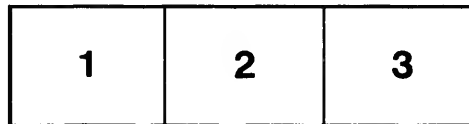
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CAMPAIGN OF 1886.

Hon. Edward Blake's Speeches.

No. 13 (First Series).

Provincial Issues—The Religious Cry—
Liberals and Catholics.

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- No. 11.—(AVLMER): Prohibition and Politics.
- No. 12.—(TORONTO): Interests of Labour—The Tariff.
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(BELLEVILLE): Legislation for Labour.
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- No. 14.—(LINDSAY): North-West Affairs—Neglect, Delay and Mismanagement—Race and Creed Cries.

PROVINCIAL QUESTIONS.

LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION IN ONTARIO.

WEAKNESS OF TORY OPPOSITION.

At Hamilton during the Local Campaign, Mr. BLAKE, after some preliminary words respecting Mr. Mowat and his Government, said:—We must remember that Government has been in power fourteen years, and it is to be expected that in that long interval there would be some acts of the Government with which some Liberals may not agree, indeed it can hardly be otherwise; but its general policy has been in full accord with Liberal principles, and has met with the full approval of the great body of the Liberals. My relations to Provincial affairs and Provincial politics are those of a citizen of Ontario deeply interested in its welfare; of a member of the Provincial Liberal party deeply anxious for the triumph of its principles; and of a supporter and follower of Mr. Mowat as our worthy and trusted leader. He is our chief, we follow him! he acts independently on his own judgment, with the advice of his able colleagues and the counsel of his friends; but he leads; he frames our policy, he guides our course. And though, as I have said, there may sometimes be some matters on which we may not see eye to eye, yet, in the main agreeing, we heartily support and follow him. We follow him first, because he is good in himself, and secondly, because he is better than those who set themselves up as his would-be successors. (Cheers) And in this world, where all things are imperfect, where we cannot hope for absolute perfection, we must consider, when called on to make a choice, not merely a man's absolute, but also his relative qualities; we must consider whether we shall benefit by any change proposed to us. The relations of the leader of the Canadian Liberal party to the Provincial Prime Minister, as you will have seen, differ altogether from those which subsist between Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Canadian Conservatives, and Mr. Meredith, the leader of the Provincial Opposition. Sir John has declared upon several platforms within the last few days that Mr. Meredith is his lieutenant, and he has asked the confidence and support of the people of Ontario for Mr. Meredith as in effect *his* Provincial Prime Minister, as his lieutenant. Sir John is thus

REALLY THE PROVINCIAL LEADER

of the Conservative party and Mr. Meredith holds the place he occupies in Sir John's room, simply because the law and his convenience do not allow Sir John to sit himself in the Local Legislature. Mr. Meredith, under these circumstances, is his subordinate, acts under him, follows his advice, does his bidding. Mr. Meredith then is not an independent man, the leader of an independent Provincial party, acting in accordance with the views and in the interest of the Provincial Conservatives whom he nominally leads. He is only the lieutenant of Sir John. (Cheers.) This is a very important distinction, when you recollect the condition for the last few years of the relations of Ontario and the Dominion. There are three great heads into which we may divide the Provincial questions which are attracting our attention. There ought to be only one great head, but there are three. I will talk first of that which ought to be the only head, namely, the

GENERAL INTERNAL POLICY

and course of the Government, whether executive or legislative. Now, you have an administration which has ruled for fourteen years, for a longer term under the same Minister than has been known in modern times; an administration which has so ruled in the blaze of day, with a hostile Opposition, anxious to find, and establish, and proclaim anything that was wrong; with some hostile members, and a hostile press, ready to assert that there is something wrong, whether or no there be in fact anything wrong; and yet no serious act of wrongdoing has been plausibly alleged, still less established. (Cheers.) You have an administration, honest, pure, above reasonable suspicion of jobbery or corruption; and that, in these days, is no small matter. (Cheers.) You have an administration at once prudent and progressive, which has given general satisfaction by its course of executive action. It has dispensed such moneys as were entrusted to it by the Legislature; it has carried out the policy which commended itself to the Legislature, fairly, honestly, with reasonable liberality, and with due regard to the efficiency and wants of the public service. You find

NO SERIOUS QUESTION

raised with regard to expenditure. Of the many millions which have been expended, exception has been taken by the Opposition to only a few thousands. We are not to assume that even these expenditures were really questionable, simply because they chose

to question them; but the figures show how trifling is the amount about which even those whose business it is to criticize thought a question could be raised. You find in a word that no serious fault is shown with the executive management of the Government. Take, then,

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

You have had a vigorous series of legislative Acts. Legislation has been kept fully abreast of public opinion. In this democratic age when, fortunately, as we believe, the people are taking and are expected to take, year by year, a more general, a more active, and more intelligent share in moulding and fashioning public policy, I, for my part, am wholly opposed to legislation which shall be in advance of public opinion. (Cheers.) I believe it be the duty of the leaders of the public mind to educate the public mind up to the acceptance of a policy, and then to bring down the legislation which shall crystallize that policy into law. (Cheers.) On the subject of legislation, as well as of administration, I believe that this Government and this party is practically unassailable. (Applause.) Then, if you come to the

QUESTION OF ABILITY,

and consider their ability in council or their ability in debate, whether you consider their absolute, or their relative, ability, the administration is one of which Ontario has just cause to be proud. (Loud cheering.) We have a right to be proud that notwithstanding the drain which is made upon us is in the walks of the professions, in the walks of commerce and business, in the larger political arena in which I happen to be a humble instrument, we have yet been able to secure a Provincial Administration so strong in talent and ability, in wise executive, and great legislative power; men so strong that Ontario would be ready to claim their full fitness to become eminent members of a Canadian Ministry, instead of a Provincial Cabinet. (Great applause.) And great as is their merit absolutely, it is far greater relatively. I ask you, I tell you to ask him to say when he comes here, who has Mr. Meredith behind him. (Cheers and laughter.) He is not first; he is alone. Where is the second man, not to say the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth man with whom an administration could be constructed, comparing in the elements of respectability and power with those he would condemn? (Hear, hear.) Their candidates for the coming Legislature have been nominated and are now before the country, and if every man whom they have put forward were elected, they could not find among them all six such men as those whom you are asked to displace in their favour.

(Cheers.) They could not even form a respectable Government, so far as their candidates have proved a title to public confidence. Now then, this is the general state of things with reference to the position of this Government, and of the Liberal party absolutely and relatively. On this great division of the subject *their record is unassailed and unassailable*, and there ought to be no doubt whatever as to the verdict of the people. But I have told you that there were other heads than this, which ought to be the only head. The second is the

EXTERNAL POLICY OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

There ought to be no call for an external policy, but unfortunately, we have been forced, for some years back, to engage in an external or foreign policy. Happy is the Province, and happy the Dominion, which has no foreign policy at all; as happy, as a great writer once said, is the nation which has no history! There ought to be harmony and not discord, between the different elements of Canada. (Cheers.) I am sorry it is not so. But it is not our fault in Ontario. We, in this Province, have been latterly forced to fight for our liberties, aye, for our existence. Our boundaries have been sought to be restricted by one-half; our lands to the extent of half our inheritance have been claimed, and even at this moment are being claimed by another power, which seeks to wrest them from us. Our northern boundary is still kept unsettled by the action of that power, which refuses to act upon the spirit of the decision of the Privy Council, and keeps open, as a festering sore, this question which might have been settled fourteen years ago if the men now in power in the Dominion had but agreed to my views as to the best settlement of the boundary. But, no; they wouldn't. Sir John Macdonald, when I proposed a limit, said we were so far apart that there was no use attempting to find common ground. He placed the boundary at Port Arthur; I put it at the Lake of the Woods. We were too far apart, he said, to talk about settlement. We are together now. (Cheers.) Where have we met? On what shore are we together at last? At the Lake of the Woods. (Tremendous laughter and applause.) *I have not gone to him; I have not even met him half way; he has been driven to come to me.* (Cheers.) We have been fighting for our rights to escheats, we have been fighting for our right to issue licenses, we have been fighting for the most important power of all, the power to legislate finally upon our own purely local affairs not affecting Canadian interests, a right which has been, and is to-day, denied to us. (Cheers.) We have been fighting for these rights in the Courts of Ontario, in the Courts of Canada, in the Privy Council at the foot of the Throne. The

battles have been long and arduous, the battles have been costly, but they have all been won so far. (Tumultuous applause.) The great constitutional lawyer has been beaten every time. (Laughter and renewed applause.) Instead of being, as he proudly boasted in 1882, infallibly right, he has been found

INFALLIBLY WRONG.

(Loud laughter.) And now, whatever he says, you may believe that it is *just not so*. (Shouts of laughter.) His standing as a constitutional lawyer is lost, and his reputation shattered forever. But he fights still. And at whose cost? At ours. (Applause.) Why, only last session, we were called upon to vote several thousand dollars to pay Mr. Dalton McCarthy's costs in contesting the right of Ontario to the lands of Ontario, in a suit that is going on to-day, and they say they intend, if necessary, to take it to the Privy Council, so as to sweep away our lands if they can. We are fighting to-day for our lands and for our northern boundary; we are fighting to-day against the arbitrary exercise of the power of disallowance, and in these fights these men are our opponents. They say:—There's no use talking about these things; they are dead issues. (Laughter and applause.) Those that are in one sense dead are dead because we have won; because they have been settled the way we have wished them settled. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) But they want to hear nothing more about them, and they would be glad if besides being dead they were buried, too. (Great applause.) But they are not yet buried; and besides, their ghosts still haunt the earth, and they alarm and terrify, as they should alarm and terrify, the men who wrongfully raised these questions, who fought them as long as they could, and as hard as they could, and have been beaten so far in every struggle—(cheers)—and who want badly now to lay these ghosts. But they will not down. (Laughter.) Even if these questions have been settled, what is your duty and mine? To consider which of the two parties in these conflicts has been the party in the right; which of the two parties it is that has been standing up for the real rights of Ontario and the real rights of the Dominion, the proved rights of the Province and the proved rights of the Dominion. Which is that party? The Liberal party of Ontario, led by Oliver Mowat. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Who is it that has been

STRUGGLING TO INFRINGE ON OUR RIGHTS,

who is it that, but for Mr. Mowat, might have wrested them from our hands? It is Mr. Meredith's chief; it is the man of whom he

is the lieutenant; it is Sir John Macdonald. (Loud cheers.) And if that be so, your duty to-day is to cast up the accounts between these two, and reward the patriot and punish the traitor. (Renewed cheering.) These contests were not confined to the courts. They went beyond the courts and reached the polls. In the last two elections so well fought, and so gallantly won, by Mr. Mowat, who was his principal adversary? Was it Mr. Meredith and Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Creighton, or Mr. Solomon White, with whom he is now traversing the country, that bright particular star he brings with him everywhere to show what brilliant colleagues he possesses, and what good material he has to form a Government? (Laughter.) Not so. These men were not foemen worthy of Mr. Mowat's steel; they were not worth powder and shot. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Mowat's principal adversaries were Sir John Macdonald and the Dominion Government, with their power, their influence, their patronage, their contractors' money, and the timber lands of Ontario, which they fraudulently took. (Cheers.) This is the third contest upon this line; and in this third contest whom do you find the main strength of the Provincial Opposition? They do not, indeed, talk much Provincial politics aloud on the platform; they deal mostly in Dominion politics, but there is a large spice of Provincial politics thrown in, and they do a good deal of work off the platform. (Laughter.) Yes; you find *the great combination troupe* has been traversing the whole Province seeking to influence the fate of the Provincial election. And as the polling-day approaches you find that they have separated. They can't do their work fast enough together, so they have divided their forces, and Mr. Foster has gone to my riding, and Mr. White once again to Peterborough, and they have dispersed over the land to put in a last good word for Sir John Macdonald, the real Provincial leader, and for his lieutenant, Mr. Meredith, in this local contest. (Cheers.) They are asking your verdict in this Ontario contest.

WHO ARE THEY?

Not only Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, but also Mr. White and Mr. Chapleau from Quebec, Mr. Foster from New Brunswick, Mr. Thompson from Nova Scotia, all deeply, oh, so deeply, interested in Ontario Provincial affairs and Ontario Provincial elections! (Loud applause.) They have generously come to us, poor, ignorant people of Ontario, who do not know enough to govern ourselves, who do not know what is for our good, to teach us with all the wisdom of Quebec, and Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, what is good for us; to show us the way we should go! (Loud cheers.) Let us receive these lessons of superior wisdom with all due humility. (Laughter.) Let us

bow before these higher intelligences ; let us listen to these words of sweetness and light ; let us do as they would have us do ! (Cheers and laughter.) No ! not so ! Mr. Mowat has been called to attend to the duties of administration for these many years in the face not merely of foes without, but of traitors within. (Loud applause.) And he has beat them both. (Great cheering.) Whether in the Legislature, with their arguments, or their money—(cheers)—whether in the courts, whether at the polls, he has beat them both, and he has beat them all. (Renewed cheers.) Mr. Meredith, the lieutenant of Sir John Macdonald, acting for Sir John Macdonald, filling his place, doing his will, this being now their avowed relation, is the chief traitor within the gates. (Cheers.) And now he asks you not merely to admit him once again within the gates, but to let him into the citadel itself—(cheers.)—not merely to let him into the citadel, but to place him in absolute command of the fortress ! (Cheers and cries of "Never.") And, if you do this, considering that these struggles are not yet ended, what result must you expect ? Do you suppose there will be a very vigilant defence by Mr. Meredith of the rights of Ontario against Sir John Macdonald ? (Cries of "No" and loud cheers.) It is his own lieutenant whom Sir John asks you to put there in order to make things easier for himself. (Cheers and laughter.) If you agree with the great wolf to put the little wolf in charge of the sheep-fold, do you think you will have got hold of a very good watch-dog ? (Tremendous laughter and applause.) You know what Sir John would do with the boundary, and of course his lieutenant will and must agree with him. Of course he will ; else he will cease to be his lieutenant. The captain will cashier the mutinous lieutenant should he not obey orders, and appoint another in his room—(laughter)—he will put some other of his puppets into the place. (Cheers.) And so as to

OUR LEGISLATIVE RIGHTS.

What about the struggle against the disallowance of our purely local laws, if you have in office in Ontario only the lieutenant of him who disallows those laws ? There would be no struggle ! You would have peace and harmony—the same sort of peace and harmony that resulted when the lamb was comfortably lodged inside the lion ! (Cheers and laughter.) Sir John may ask again for your licenses ; he will ask, doubtless, for your lands ; he has wished them long, he has struggled for them hard ; he will insist on an adverse northern boundary ; once he gets his lieutenant in office he will doubtless re-assert his claims and enforce his authority against his subordinate. (Cheers.) I advise you to hold the fort—(cheers)—I advise you to hold your own—(cheers)—

I advise you, having rights which you value, knowing that those rights have been boldly asserted, carefully guarded, vigilantly watched, and successfully protected for these many years, to hold to the men who have met and defeated the enemy, who have encountered all the hostility, and repelled all the missiles of the whole of the Conservative party of the Dominion, hostility aroused and missiles flung, just because these men were true to their Province! (Cheers.) I advise you to see to it that these men are supported to-day as they never were supported before. (Loud cheering.) Don't set the lieutenant to fight the captain—(great applause and laughter)—else, you know, the captain may call a drum-head court-martial, try the lieutenant for mutiny, and string him up. (Renewed laughter and applause.) So much for the foreign policy under which Mr. Mowat has been fighting for Ontario's boundaries, for Ontario's lands, for Ontario's treasures, for Ontario's jurisdictions, for Ontario's legislative rights, and under which he is, if need be, prepared to fight still on the same lines should you appoint him again to the same honourable though arduous position. (Loud applause.) But there is yet another and a last head, or division, of the issues of the day. There is what they in England, when the Liberal party was fighting the election of '85, called

"THE UNAUTHORIZED PROGRAMME,"

and it is upon the unauthorized programme that the Tories are depending in this contest. They are depending upon the unauthorized programme of the No Popery cry. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Mr. Meredith disclaims it—and profits by it. (Renewed applause.) He sees his organs create it, his followers use it, he stands on the platform and hears their talk; he sees thousands of the *Mail* and other Tory newspapers sent to the Liberal Protestants throughout the land with a view, by misrepresentations, to delude and deceive them; he sees their precious campaign literature circulated among this class, just as there was another campaign sheet of a very different kind, circulated by him amongst the Roman Catholics in 1883—(cheers and laughter)—he sees that just as they addressed the Roman Catholic electors with false representations as to the facts and the relations of the parties in 1883, so they are doing with regard to the Protestants in 1886—(applause)—he sees the sinister and infamous efforts made, in his interest, to rouse the religious bigotry of the people by these misrepresentations, and he knows that

THAT IS THE MAIN DEPENDENCE OF HIS FRIENDS

to-day. (Tremendous applause.) I have nothing to do with it,

he says; I indignantly deny that I say any of these things—that I do any of these things. But he knows they are being done, and he proposes to profit by them. The *Mail* says that he must act on the line it marks out; that if he wins, “the intelligent public opinion” by which he wins will ensure such and such results. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And the other day, I think at Guelph, he went so far as to adopt a portion of the cries, and to speak of a “mutilated Bible.” Now, what is it all about? The subject may be divided into two parts. There were some slight amendments made in the provisions of the Separate School law, the principal ones made two Parliaments ago, unobjected to by the Opposition, unobjected to by the press, unobjected to by the people, unobjected to at each of the two general elections which succeeded, unobjected to during this whole interval of nearly eight years, and only now brought up to serve as an election cry, in the hope that, by a sudden stroke, by hurling forth these misrepresentations, and creating a cloud of passion and prejudice, before there is time to meet and to dissipate it, they may overbear sense and reason and knowledge and fair play. (Cheers.) So far as I can judge (except perhaps as to one trifling point which has been raised in this city, and in respect of which anything that may have been overlooked can, as has been explained, be easily amended, the question, in one contingency, of a difference in the two rates), these changes are entirely unobjectionable. The second is the question of

THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS.

I ask leave to speak to you on this question as one who has taken a deep interest in the question, and even had something to do with the steps which resulted in the present arrangement. How was it two or three years ago? The five thousand Public School teachers in Ontario had the power to read the Bible in the schools. Of these, many were young; many were not specially trained in the making of proper selections for the purpose from the Bible; some were not very specially devout; some were not very specially discreet; and that being the condition of things, in about one-half of our Public Schools, and one-half alone, there was, speaking in the large and by comparison, and of course with creditable exceptions, a comparatively perfunctory and desultory, and not a regular or orderly, reading of some portion of the Word of God. And in the other half of the schools there was none. The Protestant Churches of Ontario, about that time, took up this subject and called for an improvement. The great denominations spoke; the Methodist Conference spoke, the Presbyterian Assembly spoke, the Church of England Synods,

or some of them, spoke, and I believe other bodies also spoke. Eminent men amongst the Baptists and Congregationalists spoke, and in my humble way I used what little influence I could to forward the movement. As Chancellor of the University of Toronto—one of the highest of the undeserved honours which have been conferred upon me,—it is my high duty each year to address the Convocation, and through that body the Province at large, upon the aspect of educational affairs. In June, 1884, I spoke as Chancellor upon this question of religious instruction in the schools. Let me read you what I then said:—

I want to make one practical proposal with reference to religion in the schools, and I maintain that if this proposal is not acceptable to the denominations it is to be regretted, and it proves in the plainest way the impossibility of such an element on any other basis. I see no reason why the heads of the various denominations of this country, Protestant and Catholic, should not unite in a selection of passages of Sacred Writ, without note or comment, which it should be the duty of the masters to set for the scholars to learn and repeat daily in the Public Schools of the land. I think it perfectly possible in the present more happy sentiment which prevails among the different religious creeds for such a compilation to be made by them. The State cannot make it—it cannot attempt it; and if those who call for religion in the Public Schools will meet together and will agree that certain passages may be learned and repeated, without note or comment, without exposition or explanation, by the master—leaving that to the pastor or parent at home or in church—then that can be done which would be of very great consequence. It is of the last consequence, not merely that the Bible should be read, but that while the memory is young, fresh and retentive, its words should be stored in the mind, which will then retain the impression. If that can be done, much will be done; if that cannot be done, by common consent of the denominations, I ask you what can be done?

Now, a few days later the Synod of the Church of England Diocese of Toronto met in that city. I happened to be Chancellor of the diocese, and a member of the Synod. Another member proposed a resolution looking towards Separate Schools. Many members, including Senator Allan, the Chancellor of the University of Trinity College,

OBJECTED TO THAT PROPOSAL.

I was amongst them. (Applause.) As a steadfast friend of our system of common school education, I spoke again; and I will trouble you with what I then said, because, mark you, this was at the time when this whole scheme was in the public mind, when we were discussing it amongst ourselves, when we were endeavouring to find a plan upon which we could agree, and when there were no so-called "politics" in it. (Hear, hear, and cheers.):—

Mr. Blake said it would be unfortunate if this resolution were carried out. If, now that there was a united effort being made, the Synod were to appoint

a committee to discuss a separatist move, they would defeat their own object. He was strongly impressed with the views of Mr. Allan and Mr. Marling. The religious bodies and the clergy who represented them were largely responsible for the apathetic condition of public opinion, which had resulted in there being a necessity for this move for more of such religious instruction as may be possible under the common school system. He maintained that the first thing to be considered with reference to the Public Schools in this connection is whether they could not get the various Christian denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, to agree upon a collection of passages of Scripture, which should not merely be read, but which should be learned by the children in the schools and repeated there. (Applause.) A large portion of the voluntary work in the Sunday school and of the preparation for the Sunday school would thus be done. The reading of the Scripture, whether by the teacher or the teacher and scholars responsively, was a good thing, but it was not enough. While the mind of the child was receptive it should be stored with the most precious passages of Scripture, which would be a treasury on which to draw in after years. (Loud applause.) He agreed that they could not expect to impart religious instruction after school hours. The school hours were already, in many cases, too long. (Applause. More could be learned in a shorter time. To keep the children at school an hour longer one or two days in the week for religious instruction would mean that they were to be penalized on those days. (Applause.) Let the secular lessons close an hour earlier one or two days in the week, and the religious instruction be imparted in the time thus gained. Rev. Mr. Lewis said they ought to take the highest ground, but in confining this motion to the cities and towns they were making a concession to the practicable, and he asked that the practicable should be kept in view throughout. If they advanced frankly and freely and generously, and with open heart to the other denominations on this subject, they would solve the difficulty. (Applause.) Some thought the Government should take the matter in hand. Did they suppose that any Government would not be anxious to carry out this reform, if it could be done? The difficulty was in the unhappy divisions in the Christian world. (Renewed applause.) Why could they not heal them? He believed the possible common ground was wider than that now occupied. (Loud and long applause.)

Now, the spirit favourable to our national system of education prevailed in the Synod—(cheers)—a motion for a committee to confer with the other religious bodies was passed. I was of the delegation, and was appointed as the spokesman of my own Church to express to the Presbyterian Assembly, and also, if possible, to the Methodist Conference, our desire that there should be, on this great question,

JOINT ACTION OF THE CHURCHES.

The Churches approached each other; they agreed to co-operate with each other, and I thanked God for it. (Loud applause.) I thanked God for it, because I thought it was an indication that we were beginning to sink, in some degree, our sectarianism, and to realize our points of agreement; to recognize more and more how much there was that we all held together of the fundamental common truths of Christianity. I thanked God for it, because I

thought it pointed to a broader, more generous, more Christian feeling which boded great good for the Church and for the world. The several Church bodies appointed a general delegation to wait upon the Government. They met the Government, and the Government, at their instigation, at the instigation of the Protestant Christianity of the Province of Ontario, agreed to go forward. Well, just at this time, when the Government agreed to go forward, a Book of Selections appears to have been in course of preparation as a private venture, by Mr. Kerr, a gentleman of my own profession, a scholar, a Protestant, who happens to belong to the opposite school of politics from mine. That compilation being intended by Mr. Kerr for general use in the education of the young, he thought it would be a good thing to obtain the approval of his work by the heads of the Christian denominations; and he had gone, it seems, to the Archbishop of Toronto, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in our Province, and asked him to look at it. And the Archbishop looked at it and said he did not object to it, with the exception that he suggested the substitution of "WHO" FOR "WHICH" in the Lord's Prayer. And, however bad the Archbishop's theology may be, I think you will all admit that his grammar was correct. (Loud laughter and applause.) Now hearing of the proposed action of the Government, Mr. Kerr submitted his papers to the Minister of Education, Mr. Ross. He said:—I have been engaged on this work, and here is the result. Mr. Ross looked at it, and thought it worthy of consideration. He acted, though doubtless on his own judgment, upon the very lines I had suggested in the speech I have quoted. I had pointed out that this was necessarily a work for the united action of the Churches, and not for the Government. On this same view Mr. Ross asked leading and representative men of the various Protestant Churches to help him, to take the book, to look at it, to consider whether they thought it worthy and suitable, to pass their verdict upon it. And these leading, godly men, including the heads and many of the most eminent men of the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Church of England, accepted this great responsibility, undertook the task, and appointed a sub-committee of their number, who went over the book, revised and altered it, and reported in favour of the Book of Selections. (Cheers.) And they, having reported in favour of the Book of Selections, the Government adopted the book and authorized it. Amongst these men were those who were specially qualified, not only as great Biblical scholars, as trained Bible teachers, but also as being the responsible persons connected with the higher education of the young. **THEY INCLUDED, I BELIEVE, PRINCIPAL CAVEN, THE HEAD OF THE KNOX PRESBY-**

TERIAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE; PROVOST BODY, THE HEAD OF TRINITY UNIVERSITY, ONE OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; PRINCIPAL NELLES, THE HEAD OF VICTORIA, THE METHODIST UNIVERSITY, AND PRINCIPAL CASTLE, THE HEAD OF THE BAPTIST COLLEGE: SO YOU SEE EVERY PRECAUTION WAS TAKEN TO GET THE VERDICT OF AN AUTHORITATIVE COMMITTEE. On the strength of that verdict and judgment it was that the Government authorized the book; and made regulations requiring that it should be read in the schools; and when the thing was done the Churches rejoiced that it was done. They rejoiced in it collectively, they rejoiced in it individually. Resolutions were passed commending these results. They were deemed to be of great importance and advantage to the cause of Protestant and Evangelical religion. Nor were these rejoicings confined to the clergy or to the Church bodies; the secular world joined in. Why, even the *Mail* came out with a strong article approving of the selections, congratulating Mr. Ross upon the admirable result, pointing out that the book contained those passages of Scripture upon which all Christian bodies could agree, stating that it might have been very easy to get into a difficulty, which Mr. Ross, by the steps he had taken, had entirely avoided. My bishop and the Synod of my Church were amongst those who rejoiced in this result. What has the effect been? Instead of a desultory and perfunctory reading of some passages chosen at the will and discretion of individual teachers, in only one-half the schools, you have regular, profitable, orderly, systematic reading of passages approved as the best for the purposes by the religious authorities; and this in 98 per cent., practically in all the Public schools of Ontario. (Loud cheers.) And yet there are Protestants, so-called, men who claim and profess to be zealous for the spread of religious truth and knowledge, for the wider reading of the Bible in the schools, who object to this result, and who declare that a "great evil and wrong has been done!" What are their grounds? The first is that these are selections, that this is not the whole Bible. I want to know who it is who knows the book, that proposes as most profitable for the young minds, and during the short time that can be devoted to religious exercises in the schools, that the Bible should be read from cover to cover in the Public schools? (Hear, hear.) If there is anybody who knows the book who would propose that as the best and most edifying way of dealing with the case, I would like to put him under examination for a while. (Applause.) There is nobody, I fancy, who really and seriously proposes that. Is it done even in the Sunday schools? You know that as a rule it is not. You know that

THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION HAS
ESTABLISHED SELECTIONS,

because that is the practical and profitable way. Is it done in the home, in teaching the young children? You know that as a rule it is not. Is it done in family devotion? I don't know how it is in other homes, I know how it is in my own. I do not read the Bible from cover to cover in the mixed circle that gathers at my table in the morning. I know I make selections, and I suppose most heads of families make selections also. (Loud applause.) My wife said the other day, when she heard this rising storm—she doesn't know much about the political aspect of this question; but she said to me:—"I wonder if I have been so wrong all my life as would appear. I have brought all the children up in their earlier years by instruction in a book of selections—not the Book of Selections under discussion, it is hardly old enough for that, but another—and I thought," she said, "I was doing my duty by them, but it seems I have been very wrong." I am afraid there are a great many more mothers just in the same predicament, according to the new lights that have arisen. (Cheers and laughter.) In my own CHURCH PRAYER BOOK we have authorized selections which we read through year after year. There seems to me no ground for reasonable controversy. I have no doubt the best thing is the selections. (Cheers.) It is the thing which was desired by the Churches, and the accomplishment of which was rejoiced in by the Churches. Now, always, you must remember that what we can do in the Public school is only a part, and a small part, of the work. The whole religious instruction of our children is not to be carried on in the schools. Far from it! There is the work of the home, the work of the pulpit, the work of the Sunday school. We may supplement and assist this by the reading of the selections in the schools. But even these must be expounded elsewhere, and if there are other passages for which you or I have a special regard, but which are not to be found in the Book of Selections, all we have to do is to read those passages to our children, and to impress them upon their minds by instruction and illustration. I maintain that if the selections are regularly used they will do much more good than any attempted reading in the schools of the whole Bible. (Cheers.) But again they say, that the Bible is banished from the Public schools. I understand it not to be banished from the Public schools. (Cheers.) **THE TEACHERS MAY STILL USE THE WHOLE BIBLE.** I understand that the teachers may, if they choose, still use any part of the Bible in the instruction of the scholars, but they are also

obliged to use these particular parts. They may supplement, by the reading of other parts, but those parts which are selected they must read. Therefore, there is nothing whatever in that. But it is said the selections omit important passages. Of course they do. The whole Bible is important, and if you make selections out of a book of which every word is important, you must omit important passages. The very

ESSENCE OF SELECTION IS OMISSION.

What sort of selection would it be that didn't—select? (Loud laughter and applause.) But the most important and most useful passages for the purpose are what you ought to choose in selection. You must not forget that the very Bible which these gentlemen are so zealous to defend tells you: Milk for babes; strong meat for men. (Loud applause.) And, I think, that is a principle which you may very fairly use in making your selections for the use of the children. The only question then is:—

IS THE SELECTION A GOOD ONE?

I abide by the judgment of the godly and learned and eminent men of those various denominations who met together for the single object of deciding whether these were good and fit and proper selections, whether the work was suitable, who moulded it as they thought right, and who unanimously decided in the affirmative. (Cheers.) I abide by the judgment of the various Church bodies which endorsed it. (Renewed cheers.) I know man's work is imperfect. It would be extraordinary if there were no ground for cavil or objection. But we have here a great consensus of opinion of the eminent and representative men who took the responsibility on behalf of the Church bodies of commending the work, and of the Church bodies themselves, a weight which overbears, in my poor judgment, the strained and hysterical complaints of a few discontented men who, silent when they should have spoken, silent where they should have spoken, speak when and where they should be silent, who reserve their clamours till an election; who cry out only when they can do harm and when they cannot possibly accomplish good; and who exclaim with a partiality and an injustice, a vehemence and a zeal, which savours of the earth earthy, and is far enough removed to my apprehension from a righteous and Christian temper and spirit. (Loud applause.) Then they say, "Oh, but the Archbishop had a hand in it," or a finger in it at least—(laughter)—and they seem to think that the Book of Selections is contaminated by his

touch. Now I regard this as perfectly absurd. (Applause.) The Protestant ministers who revised these selections knew that the Archbishop had seen them or they did not. If they knew it, I suppose the result would be to make them all the more jealous, to make them all the more determined to see that the general result was in genuine furtherance of Evangelical and Protestant principles. (Cheers.) If they did not know the fact, I want to be told in what way the unknown circumstance interfered with their freedom of action? (Loud applause and laughter.) There they were and there they acted. If the Book of Selections be good, and pure, and beneficial, supposing the Archbishop had had no hand in it at all, has it become bad, and impure, and injurious because it turns out he saw it. (Cheers and laughter.) But they say:—Why should he see it? Well you know my views about that. I gave them in the two speeches which I have quoted to you. I asked that the representatives of the Christian denominations, Protestant and Catholic, should agree upon the selections. (Loud cheers.) I say that the Archbishop should have seen it. Why? Because

OUR HIGH SCHOOLS ARE PURELY NATIONAL,

and we have in them, and I am glad of it, numbers of Roman Catholics as well as of Protestants. (Cheers.) Because our system of Public Schools, though there are some Separate Schools, is yet, in spirit and practice, national. (Cheers.) Because there are now being educated in the National Public Schools two-thirds of the Roman Catholic children of Ontario—50,000 children. (Cheers.) Because I am a lover of the system of Public School education as the best. (Loud cheers.) Not that I want to force it upon our Roman Catholic brethren. Not that I want to deprive them of their stipulated rights—far from it—but I want to persuade them, so far as I can, to adopt it. I want to give them no opportunity or stimulus to create more Separate Schools, or to leave the Public Schools, on the ground that we, the Protestant majority, are narrow or unjust, arbitrary or ungenerous, with reference to the Public School system. (Loud cheers.) I want the Public Schools to grow in vigour, and in their national character. I want to see the youth of this country, as far as possible, educated together. (Cheers.) I want to see the friendships of youth, which shall last through time, and I trust through eternity, formed in school days between Protestant and Catholic. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I want to see our children, our young men, and young women grow up as friends, no matter what their diversities of creed or nationality

may be. (Cheers.) I don't want to proselytize through this fellowship; I don't want to interfere with any man's conscientious conviction as to Separate Schools; but neither do I want to interfere with any man's right to freely use the Public Schools; and therefore when I spoke as Chancellor of the University, and as a member of the Synod of my own Church, I spoke under the conviction that it would be an unjust and impolitic thing to suggest that the Protestant Churches alone should act and be consulted without any regard to the rights and interests of the guardians of the Roman Catholic High School pupils and of 50,000 pupils of the Public Schools. I know not to-day, in the midst of this controversy, whether the Government at any time submitted this document to the Archbishop. If they did not, then, unless the submission by Mr. Kerr were held to answer the purpose, I should say, as I intimated in 1884, a mistake had been made. (Applause.) I should say an excuse would so be given to Roman Catholics to say:—We must build more Separate Schools, we must withdraw our children from the Public Schools, for we are not consulted as to this with regard to which the others are consulted, though there are some of our children in the High Schools. fifty thousand of our children in the Public Schools. (Cheers.) Now, on this subject, mark you,

THERE WAS NO OBJECTION FROM ANY PERSON

at the time. There was no objection until very recently; and it is upon the eve of an election that it is made, and I beg you not to be led astray by the cry that is raised. Mr. Meredith may now stand upon a public platform and declare that he is for the whole Bible, and opposed to a "mutilated" Bible. I say if he was opposed to the principle of selection, or if he was opposed to the matter of the selections, or to omissions in the selections, it was his duty to have raised that question in the Legislature, in which he was the leader of the Opposition. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I tell him it is a base, a cowardly thing, having held his peace then, to raise his voice now, on the eve of an election, in the hope of gaining over some Protestant Liberals who may be misled through misinformation and misapprehension in this matter. (Renewed and vociferous cheering.) Be not led astray. Consider our situation. Who are we? What are we? There are here, I suppose, in this audience, a great majority of those who think with me. There are here, I suppose, a large majority of Protestants; I hope there are some Roman Catholics. But I will address for a moment those who are of my own religious creed, the Protestant faith. I say, then, to my Protestant friends here present, that we

are five-sixths of the population of the Province in numbers while our Roman Catholic brethren are but one-sixth. I say to my Protestant friends:—We believe, rightly or wrongly, that our religion is the true one. We protest, rightly or wrongly, against certain dogmatic errors which we think exist in the faith of the Church of Rome; and if there be five of us to every one of them in numbers, and if we have faith in our religion; if we believe it to be the purer and better religion, I want to know **WHAT ARE WE AFRAID OF?** (Great laughter and applause.) Are we going to dread the domination of this weaker minority? I am ashamed of this talk. (Loud applause.) If we were equal in numbers I would not fear to hold my own. (Cheers.) But being five to one in numbers, I have more faith in the power of numbers, and above all I have more faith in the power of truth and in the strength of Evangelical religion than those strong Protestants who believe that the five are to go down under the domination of the one; that what they and I think the purer and better religion is to suffer at the hands of that which they and I think inferior and erroneous. (Renewed cheering.) Sir John Macdonald and his Minister of Justice, Mr. Thompson, very lately took what I may perhaps call the liberty of discussing my private affairs. They told the public at one or two of the meetings at which they have been endeavouring to amuse the people—(laughter)—the stocks in which they believed my money was invested, and they complained very seriously that I did not put some of it into those railways which are subsidized by the Treasury, and from which I might expect to get a hundred dollars for every dollar I put in. (Laughter.) I am not very sure that it was any of their business where I put my money. (Laughter.) **WHAT I HAVE EARNED BY HONEST TOIL.** (Loud cheers.) It was not derived as a Minister of the Crown, through testimonials from public contractors—(cheers)—or from great corporations indebted to the Treasury and asking relief, or from hangers-on of the Government who expected rewards in return. (Renewed cheering.) I did not owe it in any shape to my public position; and I don't very well see what these gentlemen had to do with my disposition of my means. (Hear, hear.) I have never asked, though I might have done so with a better grace, how they have invested their testimonials! (Laughter.) But, since they have made the charge that I lack public spirit, and am given to sordid dealings with what is my own, I may tell you and them that all I have had is not invested in the stocks they suppose. I have tried to do my share of public good with the means with which God has blessed me. I have never spoken of it before, but as both the conduct of my own affairs and my zeal for the cause of

Protestantism are impugned by these gentlemen—these gentlemen so strict and correct themselves—such zealous Protestants themselves—I may say that TWO MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY AND MYSELF HAVE \$40,000 OR MORE INVESTED IN SUBSCRIPTIONS TOWARDS ONE INSTITUTION CREATED FOR THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANT AND EVANGELICAL RELIGION, AND WHICH IS DOING GOOD WORK TO-DAY IN THE PROMOTION OF WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE THE TRUTH. (Tremendous applause.) I have never paraded our action before the public; I should not have mentioned it even now, but for these attacks. But I may ask you if we have not shown our faith by our works, and if it is likely that I would be disposed to do, or approve anything which would entail a danger of the domination of those with whose doctrines we do not agree, or a risk of injury to that Protestantism which we hold dear? (Great applause.) I have shown myself true to those principles; but I hold those men false to the principles of religious freedom who would sow discord between Protestants and Roman Catholics on this subject. (Cheers.) I freely render to my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, first, full religious freedom, and next their stipulated rights! but more, I say that being strong, we ought to be what the strong should always be—generous to the weak. (Applause.)

MEASURE FULL, HEAPED UP AND RUNNING OVER, IS THE MEASURE TO BE GIVEN BY THE STRONG TO THE WEAK;

and by so acting we will exemplify true Christian principles; we will exemplify true Liberal principles; we will do our best for the promotion of true Christianity, and for the spread of the Gospel. Let us then remove that cause for mistrust which is provoked by the exhibition of the infernal spirit, for such I call it, which has been exhibited in several of the Tory journals, notably the *Mail*, for the last few months. (Cheers.)

LET US RESTORE THE PROPER RELATIONS

of the two great portions of the population, sought to be disturbed by that party, in the effort to make us lose sight of the real, the political questions, which have divided, and may properly divide, the people, and to run the elections upon questions of sect and creed, of prejudice and misconstruction, upon what I believed and still hope were extinguished hates and dead fanaticisms. I ask you to decide these elections in favour of men who do not seek to raise or to profit by religious hates. Put down these abominable cries! Out with these infernal fires! (Cheers.) And dis-

miss to their deserved obscurity the men who would raise themselves to political power on the ruins of the national edifice! (Great applause.) In fine, I ask you to join with me and say, what I shall say by my voice and vote to Oliver Mowat:—"Well done, good and faithful servant; faithful in few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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